



Unit 3

The Crisis of Union

1848–1860

CHAPTER 8

Sectional Conflict Intensifies
1848–1877

CHAPTER 9

The Civil War
1861–1865

CHAPTER 10

Reconstruction
1865–1877

Why It Matters

The growing sectional crisis in the 1800s led to the Civil War, the most wrenching war in American history. The Civil War fundamentally altered American society. It ended slavery, destroyed the economy of the Old South, and changed the relationship between the federal government and the state governments. It also resulted in several changes to the United States Constitution.



Confederate soldiers of the 6th Virginia Infantry charge troops of the Union 9th Corps at the Battle of the Crater in Petersburg, Virginia, 1864.

Sectional Conflict Intensifies

1848–1877

SECTION 1 Slavery and Western Expansion

SECTION 2 The Crisis Deepens

SECTION 3 The Union Dissolves

African Americans escape from slavery and head north to freedom

U.S. PRESIDENTS

U.S. EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS

Polk
1845–1849



Taylor
1849–1850



1850

- Compromise of 1850 is adopted in an attempt to ease sectional tensions

Fillmore
1850–1853



1854

- Republican Party is founded

Pierce
1853–1857



1856

- Violence erupts between proslavery and antislavery forces in Kansas



1848

1848

- Serfdom is abolished in Austrian Empire

1850

1852

- Livingstone explores Africa's Zambezi River

1852

1854

1853

- Crimean War begins, pitting Russia against Great Britain and Turkey

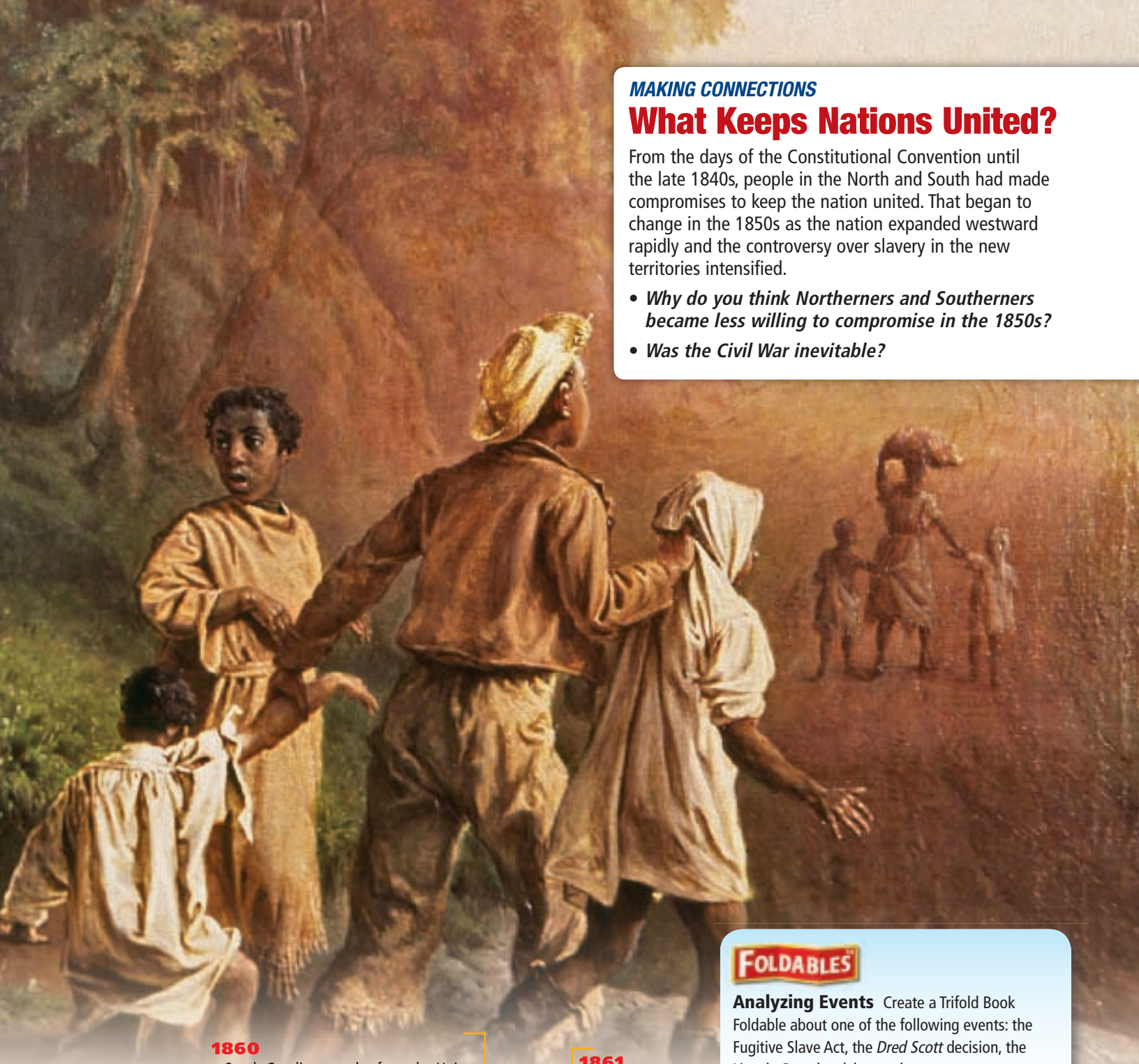
1856

MAKING CONNECTIONS

What Keeps Nations United?

From the days of the Constitutional Convention until the late 1840s, people in the North and South had made compromises to keep the nation united. That began to change in the 1850s as the nation expanded westward rapidly and the controversy over slavery in the new territories intensified.

- *Why do you think Northerners and Southerners became less willing to compromise in the 1850s?*
- *Was the Civil War inevitable?*



1860

- South Carolina secedes from the Union

Buchanan
1857–1861

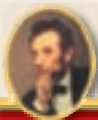


1859

- John Brown raids the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia



Lincoln
1861–1865



1861

- Fort Sumter is bombarded by Confederate forces; the Civil War begins

1858

1858

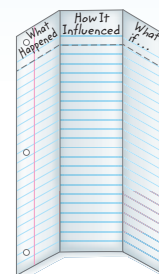
- First transatlantic telegraph cable laid between Europe and North America

1859

- Darwin's *Origin of Species* is published

FOLDABLES™

Analyzing Events Create a Trifold Book Foldable about one of the following events: the Fugitive Slave Act, the *Dred Scott* decision, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, or John Brown's raid. Describe the event, how it influenced events leading to the Civil War, and what might have happened if the event had turned out differently.



History ONLINE Chapter Overview
Visit glencoe.com to preview Chapter 8.

Section 1

Slavery and Western Expansion

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas
Struggles for Rights As sectional tensions rose, some Americans openly defied laws they thought were unjust.

- Content Vocabulary**
- popular sovereignty (p. 285)
 - secession (p. 287)
 - transcontinental railroad (p. 291)

- Academic Vocabulary**
- survival (p. 286)
 - perception (p. 291)

- People and Events to Identify**
- Wilmot Proviso (p. 284)
 - Free-Soil Party (p. 285)
 - "Forty-Niners" (p. 286)
 - Compromise of 1850 (p. 288)
 - Fugitive Slave Act (p. 288)
 - Underground Railroad (p. 289)
 - Harriet Tubman (p. 289)
 - Uncle Tom's Cabin (p. 291)
 - Gadsden Purchase (p. 291)
 - Kansas-Nebraska Act (p. 292)

Reading Strategy
Categorizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by pairing the presidential candidates of 1848 with their positions on slavery in the West.

Candidate	Position

The spread of slavery into new territory became the overriding political issue of the 1850s. Admitting new slave states or new free states would upset the balance of power between Northern states and Southern states in the national government.

The Search for Compromise

MAIN Idea Continuing disagreements over the westward expansion of slavery increased sectional tensions between the North and South.

HISTORY AND YOU What do you recall about the compromise Henry Clay previously negotiated between Northerners and Southerners? Read on to learn about the Great Compromise of 1850 and how it allowed California to be admitted to the Union.

As many people in both the North and South had anticipated, the Mexican War greatly increased sectional tensions. The war had opened vast new lands to American settlers raising, once again, the divisive issue of whether slavery should be allowed to spread westward into the new lands. As part of the debate over the new western territories, Southerners also demanded new laws to help them retrieve slaves who escaped to free territory.

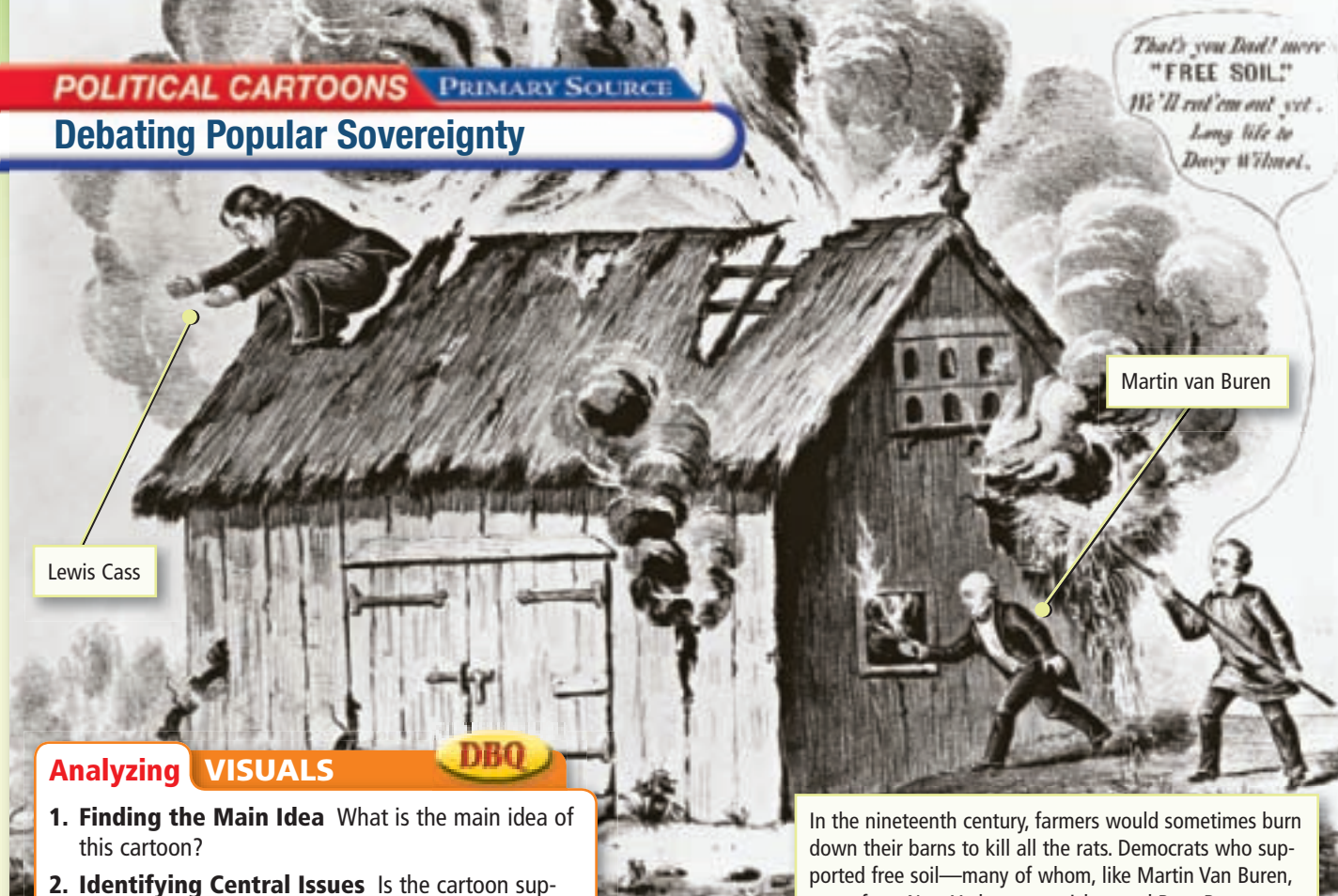
The Wilmot Proviso

In August 1846 Representative David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, proposed an addition to a war appropriations bill. His amendment, known as the **Wilmot Proviso**, proposed that in any territory that the United States gained from Mexico “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist.”

Wilmot’s proposal outraged Southerners. They believed that any antislavery decision about the territories would threaten slavery everywhere. Despite fierce Southern opposition, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Whigs passed the Wilmot Proviso in the House of Representatives. The Senate, however, refused to vote on it. During the debate, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina prepared a series of resolutions to counter the Wilmot Proviso. The Calhoun Resolutions never came to a vote, but they demonstrated the growing anger of many Southerners.

In the resolutions, Calhoun argued that the states owned the territories of the United States in common, and that Congress had no right to ban slavery in them. Calhoun warned somberly that “political revolution, anarchy, [and] civil war” would surely erupt if the North failed to heed Southern concerns.

Debating Popular Sovereignty



Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- Finding the Main Idea** What is the main idea of this cartoon?
- Identifying Central Issues** Is the cartoon supporting free soil or popular sovereignty? How do you know?

In the nineteenth century, farmers would sometimes burn down their barns to kill all the rats. Democrats who supported free soil—many of whom, like Martin Van Buren, came from New York—were nicknamed Barn Burners. They opposed the nomination of Lewis Cass for president and supported the Wilmot Proviso.

Popular Sovereignty

With the country increasingly divided along sectional lines over the issue of slavery's expansion in the territories, many moderates began searching for a solution that would spare Congress from having to deal with the issue. Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan proposed one solution. Cass suggested that the citizens of each new territory should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to permit slavery. This idea came to be called **popular sovereignty**.

Popular sovereignty appealed to many members of Congress because it removed the slavery issue from national politics. It also appeared democratic since settlers themselves would make the decision. Abolitionists argued that it denied African Americans their right to freedom, but many Northerners supported the idea because they believed Northerners would settle most of the new territory and then ban slavery there.

The Free-Soil Party Emerges With the 1848 election approaching, the Whigs chose Zachary Taylor, hero of the war with Mexico, to run for president. The Whig Party in the North was split. Many Northern Whigs, known as Conscience Whigs, opposed slavery. They also opposed Taylor because they believed he wanted to expand slavery westward. Other Northern Whigs supported Taylor and voted with the Southern Whigs to nominate him. These Northern Whigs were known as Cotton Whigs because many of them were linked to Northern textile manufacturers who needed Southern cotton.

The decision to nominate Taylor convinced many Conscience Whigs to quit the party. They then joined antislavery Democrats from New York, who were frustrated that their party had nominated Lewis Cass instead of Martin Van Buren. These two groups then joined members of the abolitionist Liberty Party to form the **Free-Soil Party**, which opposed slavery in the "free soil" of western territories.

Although some Free-Soilers condemned slavery as immoral, most simply wanted to preserve the western territories for white farmers. They believed that allowing slavery to expand would make it difficult for free men to find work. The Free-Soil Party's slogan summed up their views: "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men."

Candidates from three parties campaigned for the presidency in 1848. Democrat Lewis Cass supported popular sovereignty, although this support was not mentioned in the South. His promise to veto the Wilmot Proviso, should Congress pass it, however, was often reported. Former president Martin Van Buren led the Free-Soil Party, which took a strong position against slavery in the territories and backed the Wilmot Proviso. General Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, avoided the whole issue. On Election Day, support for the Free-Soilers split the Democratic vote in New York. This enabled Taylor to win the state, and with it, enough electoral votes to win the election.

The Forty-Niners Head to California

Within a year of Taylor's inauguration, the issue of slavery again took center stage. In 1848 gold was discovered in California, and thou-

sands of people headed west, hoping to become rich. By the end of 1849, more than 80,000 **"Forty-Niners"** had arrived to look for gold—more than enough people for California to apply for statehood. Congress had to decide whether California would enter the Union as a free state or a slave state.

Before leaving office, President Polk had urged Congress to create territorial governments for California and New Mexico, but Congress had not been able to agree on whether to allow slavery in these territories. Although President Taylor was himself a slaveholder, he did not think slavery's **survival** depended on its expansion westward. He believed that the way to avoid a fight in Congress was to have Californians make their own decision about slavery. With Taylor's encouragement, California applied for admission as a free state in late 1849. Thus, the Gold Rush had forced the nation once again to confront the divisive issue of slavery.

The Great Debate Begins

If California became a free state, the slaveholding states would be in the minority in the Senate. Southerners dreaded this, fearing it

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Compromise of 1850

Leaders in the California Territory submitted their request to become a state in 1850. Debate in Congress over California's entry into the Union as a free state ended in the Compromise of 1850. California joined the Union in September 1850 as part of the Compromise.

PRIMARY SOURCE

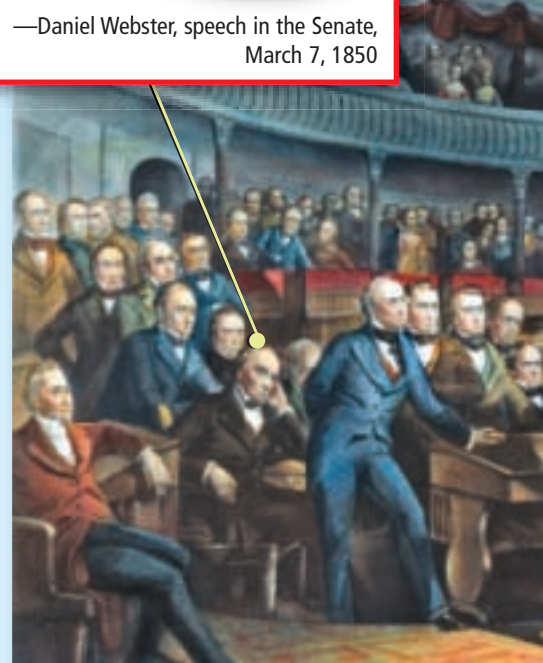
"... [I]t is this circumstance, Sir, the prohibition of slavery . . . which has contributed to raise . . . the dispute as to the propriety of the admission of California into the Union under this constitution."



—Daniel Webster, speech in the Senate, March 7, 1850

► Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John Calhoun were the main participants in the 1850 debate over the slavery issue and California's entry into the Union.

◀ As word of the discovery of gold in California spread through the nation, Americans rushed to the mountains in search of gold.



might result in limits on slavery and states' rights. A few Southern leaders began to talk openly of **secession**—of taking their states out of the Union.

Clay's Proposal In early 1850 one of the most senior and influential leaders in the Senate, Henry Clay of Kentucky, tried to find a compromise that would enable California to join the Union. Clay—nicknamed “The Great Compromiser” because of his role in promoting the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and solving the nullification crisis in 1833—proposed eight resolutions to solve the crisis.

Clay grouped the resolutions in pairs, offering concessions to both sides. The first pair allowed California to come in as a free state but organized the rest of the Mexican cession without any restrictions on slavery. The second pair settled the border between New Mexico and Texas in favor of New Mexico but compensated Texas by having the federal government take on its debts. This would win Southern votes because many Southerners held Texas bonds.

Clay's third pair of resolutions outlawed the slave trade in the District of Columbia but did not outlaw slavery itself. The final two resolu-

tions were concessions to the South. Congress would be prohibited from interfering with the slave trade and would pass a new fugitive slave act to help Southerners recover enslaved African Americans who had fled to the North. These concessions were intended to reassure the South that after California joined the Union, the North would not use its control of the Senate to abolish slavery.

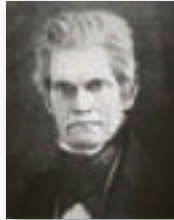
Clay's proposals triggered a massive debate. Any compromise would need the approval of Senator John C. Calhoun, the great defender of the South's rights. Calhoun was too ill to address the Senate. He wrote a speech and then sat, hollow-eyed and shrouded in flannel blankets, as another senator read it aloud.

Calhoun's Response Calhoun's address was brutally frank. It asserted flatly that Northern agitation against slavery threatened to destroy the South. He did not think Clay's compromise would save the Union. The South needed an acceptance of its rights, the return of fugitive slaves, and a guarantee of a balance of power between the sections. If the Southern states could not live in safety within the Union, Calhoun darkly predicted, secession was the only honorable solution.

PRIMARY SOURCE

“[T]he equilibrium between [the North and the South] . . . has been destroyed. . . . [o]ne section has the exclusive power of controlling the government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression.”

—John C. Calhoun, speech in the Senate, March 4, 1850



PRIMARY SOURCE

“California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.”

—Henry Clay's resolution, January 29, 1850



The Compromise of 1850

- California admitted to the Union as a free state
- Popular sovereignty to determine slavery issue in Utah and New Mexico territories
- Texas border dispute with New Mexico resolved
- Texas receives \$10 million
- Slave trade, but not slavery itself, abolished in the District of Columbia
- New, stringent Fugitive Slave Law adopted

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Summarizing** How does Clay think slavery should be treated in California?
2. **Finding Main Ideas** What is Calhoun's concern about adding California to the Union?
3. **Generalizing** Do you think the North or the South achieved more of its goals in the Compromise of 1850? Why?

Three days later, Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts rose to respond to Calhoun's talk of secession. Calling on the Senate to put national unity above sectional loyalties, Webster voiced his support for Clay's plan, claiming that it was the only hope for preserving the Union. Although he sought conciliation, Senator Webster did not back away from speaking bluntly—and with chilling foresight:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American. . . . I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. 'Hear me for my cause'. . . . There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. . . . I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven what that disruption itself must produce; I see that it must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe."


—from the *Congressional Globe*

The Compromise of 1850

At first, Congress did not pass Clay's bill, in part because President Taylor opposed it. Then, unexpectedly, Taylor died in office that summer. Vice President Millard Fillmore succeeded him and quickly threw his support behind the compromise.

By the end of summer, Calhoun was dead, Webster had accepted the position of secretary of state, and Clay was exhausted, leaving leadership of the Senate to younger men. Thirty-seven-year-old Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois took charge of the effort to resolve the crisis. Douglas divided the large compromise initiative into several smaller bills. This allowed his colleagues from different sections to abstain or vote against whatever parts they disliked while supporting the rest. By fall, Congress had passed all the parts of the original proposal as Clay had envisioned it, and President Fillmore had signed them into law.

Fillmore called the compromise a "final settlement" between the North and South. For a short time, the **Compromise of 1850** did ease the tensions over slavery. In the next few years, however, more conflicts arose, and the hope of a permanent solution through compromise would begin to fade.

 **Summarizing** How did the Gold Rush affect the issue of slavery?

The Fugitive Slave Act

MAIN Idea Many Northerners opposed the Fugitive Slave Act and vowed to disobey it.

HISTORY AND YOU Under what circumstances, if any, do you believe citizens should disobey a law? Read to learn how some Northerners responded to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

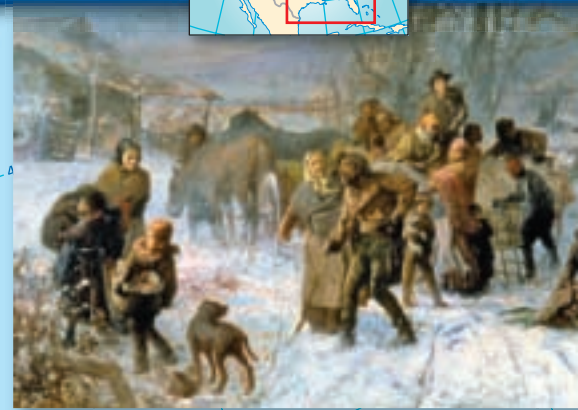
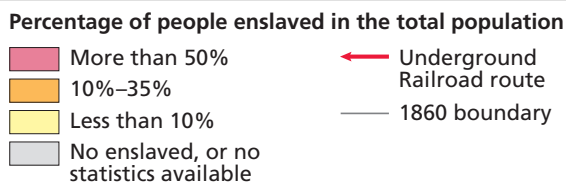
Although Henry Clay had conceived the **Fugitive Slave Act** as a benefit to slaveholders, it actually hurt the Southern cause by creating active hostility toward slavery among many Northerners who had been indifferent.

Northern Resistance Grows

Under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, a person claiming that an African American had escaped from slavery had only to point out that person as a runaway to take him or her into custody. The accused then would be brought before a federal commissioner. With no right to testify on their own behalf, African Americans had no way to prove their cases. An affidavit asserting that the captive had escaped from a slaveholder or testimony by white witnesses was all a court needed to order the person sent south. Furthermore, federal commissioners had an incentive to rule in favor of the slaveholder; such judgments earned the commissioner a \$10 fee, but judgments in favor of the accused paid only \$5.

The law also required federal marshals to assist slave catchers, and it authorized marshals to deputize citizens on the spot to help capture fugitives. A citizen who refused to cooperate could be jailed.

Newspaper accounts of the unjust seizure of African Americans fueled Northern indignation. One Northern newspaper proclaimed that "almost no colored man is safe in our streets." As outraged as Northerners were over such seizures, they were even angrier over the requirement that ordinary citizens help capture runaways. This provision drove many into active defiance. Frederick Douglass emphasized this part of the law over and over again in his speeches. A powerful orator, Douglass would paint an emotional picture of an African American fleeing kidnappers. Then he would ask his audience whether they would give the runaway over to the "pursuing bloodhounds." "No!" the crowd would roar.



▲ Courageous “conductors” led thousands of enslaved people out of the South to freedom along routes of the Underground Railroad.

Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

- 1. Location** How far north did many Underground Railroad routes reach?
- 2. Place** How many of the states shown had areas where more than 50 percent of the people were enslaved?

Maps in Motion

See *StudentWorks™ Plus* or glencoe.com.

The Underground Railroad

Antislavery activists often used the words of writer Henry David Thoreau to justify defying the Fugitive Slave Act. In his 1849 essay, “Civil Disobedience,” Thoreau advocated disobeying laws on moral grounds. “Unjust laws exist,” he wrote. “Shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?” For many, the answer was to disobey them without delay.

Although the Fugitive Slave Act included heavy fines and prison terms for helping a runaway, whites and free African Americans continued their work with the **Underground Railroad**. This informal but well-organized system was legendary during the 1830s and helped thousands of enslaved persons escape. Members, called “conductors,” transported runaways north in secret, gave them shelter

and food along the way, and saw them to freedom in the Northern states or in Canada, with some money for a fresh start.

Dedicated people, many of them African Americans, made dangerous trips into the South to guide enslaved persons along the Underground Railroad to freedom. The most famous of these conductors was **Harriet Tubman**, herself a runaway. She risked many trips to the South, even after slaveholders offered a large reward for her capture.

In Des Moines, Iowa, Isaac Brandt used secret signals to communicate with conductors on the Underground Railroad—a hand lifted palm outwards, for example, or a certain kind of tug at the ear. “I do not know how these signs or signals originated,” he later remembered, “but they had become well understood. Without them the operation of the system of running slaves into free territory would not have been possible.”

Harriet Tubman 1820–1913

Known as “Moses” for her courage in leading enslaved people to freedom as Moses had led the Hebrews out of slavery in Egypt, Harriet Tubman was a heroine of the antislavery movement. Tubman was born into slavery in Maryland and struggled early against the system’s brutality. At age 13, she tried to save another enslaved person from punishment, and an overseer fractured her skull. Miraculously, she recovered, but she suffered from occasional blackouts for the rest of her life.

Tubman escaped to freedom in 1849. About crossing into Pennsylvania, she later wrote, “I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person. There was such a glory over everything. The sun came up like gold through the trees, and I felt like I was in Heaven.”

Her joy inspired others. After Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, Tubman returned to the South 19 times to guide enslaved people along the Underground Railroad to freedom.

Tubman became notorious in the eyes of slaveholders, but despite a large reward offered for her capture, no one ever betrayed her whereabouts. Furthermore, in all her rescues, she never lost a “passenger.” Tubman’s bravery and determination made her one of the most important figures in the antislavery movement.

What do you think Tubman meant when she wrote, “I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person?”



Harriet Beecher Stowe 1811–1896

Daughter of reformer-minister Lyman Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe was born into a family of high achievers. Unlike many young women of the time, Stowe received a good education, including teacher training in Hartford, Connecticut. In 1832 Stowe moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. There, Stowe began writing and teaching. She spent 18 years in Ohio—right across the river from the slave state of Kentucky. During this period, she met fugitive slaves, employed a former enslaved woman, and learned about slavery from Southern friends.

In 1850 Stowe moved with her husband to Maine. There, in reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law, she began writing *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, based on what she had learned while in Ohio and antislavery materials she had read. The novel, which humanized the plight of the enslaved, was an instant sensation and further hardened the positions of both abolitionists and slaveholders. When President Lincoln met Stowe, so the story goes, he exclaimed, “So you’re the little woman who wrote the book that started this Great War!”

Stowe went on to write many more novels, stories, and articles but is today best known for the novel that so fanned the sectional flames over slavery that it contributed to the start of the Civil War.

What was the effect of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* on the slavery debate?



Levi Coffin was born to a Quaker family in North Carolina. As a boy, he witnessed a group of African Americans in chains being led to an auction. The incident deeply affected him, and years later, he allowed escaped African Americans to stay at his home in Indiana, where three Underground Railroad routes from the South converged.

PRIMARY SOURCE

“We knew not what night or what hour of the night we would be roused from slumber by a gentle rap at the door. . . . Outside in the cold or rain, there would be a two-horse wagon loaded with fugitives, perhaps the greater part of them women and children. I would invite them, in a low tone, to come in, and they would follow me into the darkened house without a word, for we knew not who might be watching and listening.”

—quoted in *The Underground Railroad*

An estimated 2,000 African Americans stopped at Coffin’s Indiana house on their way to freedom. Coffin later moved to Cincinnati,

Ohio, where he assisted another 1,300 African Americans who had crossed the river from Kentucky to freedom. A thorn in the side of slaveholders, the Underground Railroad deepened Southern mistrust of Northern intentions.

Uncle Tom’s Cabin

One evening in 1851, the well-educated, deeply religious Stowe family sat in their parlor in Brunswick, Maine, listening to a letter being read aloud. The letter was from Harriet Beecher Stowe’s sister, Isabella, in Boston.

The new Fugitive Slave Act, part of the Compromise of 1850, had gone into effect, Isabella reported, and slave catchers prowled the streets. They pounced on African Americans without warning, breaking into their houses, destroying their shops, and carrying them off. Isabella described daily attacks. She also told of outraged Bostonians, white and African American alike, who rallied to resist the kidnappers.

To read an excerpt from *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, see page R68 in *American Literature Library*.

Harriet Beecher Stowe listened with growing despair. She had lived for many years in Cincinnati, across the Ohio River from the slave state of Kentucky. There, she had met many runaways from slavery and heard their tragic tales. She had also visited Kentucky and witnessed slavery firsthand.

As the reading of her sister's letter continued, Stowe, who was an accomplished author, received a challenge. "Now Hattie," Isabella wrote, "if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is." Stowe suddenly rose from her chair and announced, "I will write something. I will if I live." That year, she began writing sketches for a book called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

After running as a serial in an antislavery newspaper, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came out in book form in 1852 and sold 300,000 copies in its first year—an astounding number for the time. Today, the writing may seem overly sentimental, but to Stowe's original readers, mostly Northerners, it was powerful. Her depiction of the enslaved hero Tom and the villainous overseer Simon Legree changed Northern **perceptions** of African Americans and slavery.

Stowe presented African Americans as real people imprisoned in dreadful circumstances. Because she saw herself as a painter of slavery's horrors rather than an abstract debater, Stowe was able to evoke pity and outrage even in readers who were unmoved by rational arguments.

Theatrical dramatizations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* increased the story's appeal. The plays reached a wider audience than the novel and specifically attracted the working class, which tended to ignore abolitionism.

Southerners tried unsuccessfully to have the novel banned and attacked its portrayal of slavery, accusing Stowe of writing "distortions" and "falsehoods." One Southern editor said he wanted a review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to be "as hot as hellfire, blasting and searing the reputation of the vile wretch in petticoats."

Despite Southern outrage, the book eventually sold millions of copies. It had such a dramatic impact on public opinion that many historians consider it one of the causes of the Civil War.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What was an unintended consequence of the Fugitive Slave Act?

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

MAIN Idea In the 1850s the debate over the spread of slavery became increasingly heated and sometimes turned violent.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever watched Congress on television? Do you think politicians behave differently when they know the public is watching? Read on to find out how debate gave way to a physical assault on the Senate floor in 1856.

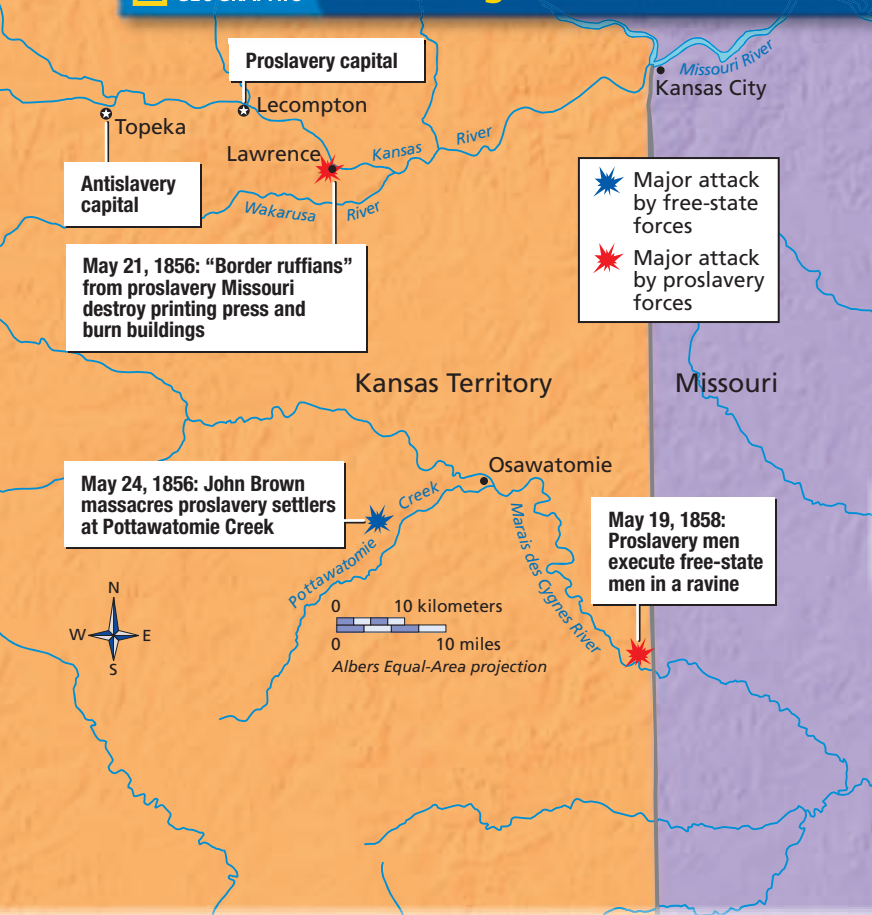
The opening of Oregon and the admission of California to the Union had convinced Americans that a **transcontinental railroad** should be built to connect the West Coast to the rest of the country. In the 1850s getting to the West Coast required many grueling weeks of travel overland or a long sea voyage around the tip of South America. A transcontinental railroad would reduce the journey to four relatively easy days, while promoting further settlement and growth in the territories along the route.

Debating the Route of the Transcontinental Railroad

The transcontinental railroad had broad appeal, but the choice of its eastern starting point became a new element in the sectional conflict. Two routes were initially proposed—a northern route and a southern route.

Many Southerners preferred a southern route from New Orleans, but the geography of the Southwest required the railroad to pass through northern Mexico. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, a supporter of the South's interests, convinced President Franklin Pierce to send James Gadsden, a South Carolina politician and railroad promoter, to buy the land from Mexico. In 1853 Mexico accepted \$10 million for the **Gadsden Purchase**—a 30,000-square-mile strip of land that today is part of southern Arizona and New Mexico.

Meanwhile, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the head of the Senate committee on territories, had his own ideas for a transcontinental railroad. Douglas wanted the eastern terminus to be in Chicago, but he knew that northern route required Congress to organize the unsettled lands west of Missouri and Iowa.



▲ Representative Preston Brooks beat Senator Charles Sumner for criticizing Brooks's cousin, Senator Andrew Butler. While many Northerners were outraged over the incident, Southerners voiced their approval by sending Brooks canes.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Interpreting** According to the map, how many governments were in the Kansas Territory in 1856?
- 2. Analyzing** In the cartoon shown above depicting the beating of Charles Sumner, which side do you think the cartoonist favored? Explain.

In 1853 Douglas prepared a bill to organize the region into a new territory to be called Nebraska. Although the House of Representatives passed the bill quickly, Southern senators who controlled key committees refused to go along, and they prevented the bill from coming to a vote. These senators made it clear to Douglas that if he wanted Nebraska organized, he needed to work to repeal the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the new territory.

Repealing the Missouri Compromise

Douglas knew that any attempt to repeal the Missouri Compromise would divide the country. Nevertheless, he wanted to open the northern Great Plains to settlement. At first he tried to dodge the issue and gain Southern support for his bill by saying that any states organized in the new Nebraska territory would be allowed to exercise popular sovereignty, deciding for themselves whether to allow slavery.

Southern leaders in the Senate were not fooled. If the Missouri Compromise remained in place while the region was settled, slaveholders would not move there. As a result, the states formed in the region would naturally become free states. Determined to get the territory organized, Douglas's next version of the bill proposed to undo the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the region. He also proposed dividing the region into two territories. Nebraska would be to the north, adjacent to the free state of Iowa, and Kansas would be to the south, west of the slave state of Missouri. This looked like Nebraska was intended to be free territory, while Kansas was intended for slavery.

Douglas's bill outraged Northern Democrats and Whigs. Free-Soilers and antislavery Democrats called the act an "atrocious plot." They claimed abandoning the Missouri Compromise broke a solemn promise to limit the spread of slavery. Despite this opposition, the leaders of the Democrats in Congress won enough support to pass the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** in May 1854.

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Student Web
Activity Visit
glencoe.com and
complete the activity on Bleeding
Kansas.

“Bleeding Kansas”

Kansas became the first battleground between those favoring the extension of slavery and those opposing it. Since eastern Kansas offered the same climate and rich soil as the slave state of Missouri, settlers moving there from Missouri were likely to bring enslaved persons with them and claim Kansas for the South. Northerners responded by hurrying into the territory themselves, intent on creating an antislavery majority. Northern settlers could count on the support of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, an abolitionist group founded to recruit and outfit antislavery settlers bound for Kansas. Carrying supplies and rifles, hordes of Northerners headed for the new territory.

Pro-slavery Senator David Atchison of Missouri responded by calling on men from his state to storm into Kansas. In the spring of 1855, thousands of Missourians—called “border ruffians” in the press—voted illegally in Kansas, helping to elect a proslavery legislature. Antislavery settlers countered by holding a convention in Topeka and drafting their own constitution that banned slavery. By March 1856, Kansas had two governments.

On May 21, 1856, border ruffians, worked up by the arrival of more Northerners, attacked the town of Lawrence, a stronghold of antislavery settlers. The attackers wrecked newspaper presses, plundered shops and homes, and burned a hotel and the home of the elected free-state governor.

“Bleeding Kansas,” as newspapers dubbed the territory, became the scene of a territorial civil war between pro-slavery and antislavery settlers. By the end of 1856, 200 people had died in the fighting and \$2 million worth of property had been destroyed.

The Caning of Charles Sumner

While bullets flew and blood ran in Kansas, the Senate hotly debated the future of the western territories. In mid-May 1856, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a fiery abolitionist, delivered a speech accusing pro-slavery senators of forcing Kansas into the ranks of slave states. He singled out Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina, saying Butler had “chosen a mistress . . . the harlot, Slavery.”

Several days later, Butler’s second cousin, Representative Preston Brooks, approached Sumner at his desk in the Senate chamber. Brooks shouted that Sumner’s speech had been “a libel on South Carolina, and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine.” Before Sumner could respond, Brooks raised a gold-handled cane and beat him savagely, leaving the senator severely injured.

Many Southerners considered Brooks a hero. Some sent him canes inscribed “Hit Him Again.” Shocked by the attack and outraged by the flood of Southern support for Brooks, Northerners strengthened their determination to resist the “barbarism of slavery.” One New York clergyman wrote in his journal that “no way is left for the North, but to strike back, or be slaves.”



Describing Why did Stephen Douglas propose repealing the Missouri Compromise?

Section 1 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. Explain the significance of: Wilmot Proviso, popular sovereignty, Free-Soil Party, “Forty-Niners,” secession, Compromise of 1850, Fugitive Slave Act, Underground Railroad, Harriet Tubman, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, trans-continental railroad, Gadsden Purchase, Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Main Ideas

2. Describing How did Stephen Douglas achieve passage of the Compromise of 1850?

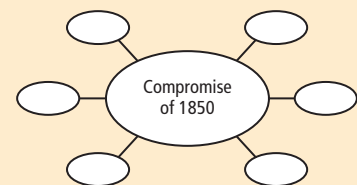
3. Explaining How could *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* be considered a cause of the Civil War?

4. Summarizing How did the Kansas Territory become an arena of civil war?

Critical Thinking

5. Big Ideas How did antislavery activists justify disobeying the Fugitive Slave Act?

6. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the main elements of the Compromise of 1850.



7. Analyzing Visuals Study the photo on page 286. What does the photo reveal about the people who traveled to California to find gold?

Writing About History

8. Expository Writing Suppose you are a reporter for a Southern or a Northern newspaper in the 1850s. Write an article on public reaction to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.



Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 2

The Crisis Deepens

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas
Group Action Due to differing opinions within established parties, Americans forged new political alliances in the 1850s.

Content Vocabulary
• referendum (p. 298)
• insurrection (p. 301)

Academic Vocabulary
• correspondence (p. 294)
• formulate (p. 300)

People and Events to Identify
• Republican Party (p. 294)
• Dred Scott (p. 296)
• Lecompton constitution (p. 298)
• Freeport Doctrine (p. 300)
• John Brown (p. 301)

Reading Strategy
Categorizing As you read about the North-South split, complete a graphic organizer like the one below to categorize events as executive, legislative, judicial, or nongovernmental.

Executive	
Legislative	
Judicial	
Nongovernmental	

The controversy over slavery accelerated the breakdown of the major political parties and the formation of new ones, including the party of future president Abraham Lincoln. Friction intensified until the North and South became unable to compromise any further.

The Birth of the Republican Party

MAIN Idea Continuing disagreements over the expansion of slavery—most notably the Kansas-Nebraska Act—led to the formation of the Republican Party.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know of any foreign governments that are controlled by a coalition of political parties? Read on to learn how the Republican Party was formed by a coalition of political parties.

When the Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise, it had a dramatic effect on the political system. Proslavery Southern Whigs and antislavery Northern Whigs had long battled for control of their party, but the Kansas-Nebraska Act finally split the party. Every Northern Whig in Congress had voted against the bill, while most Southern Whigs had voted for it. “We Whigs of the North,” wrote one member from Connecticut, “are unalterably determined never to have even the slightest political **correspondence** or connexion” with the Southern Whigs.

Anger over the Kansas-Nebraska Act convinced former Whigs, members of the Free-Soil Party, and a few antislavery Democrats to work together during the congressional elections of 1854. Their coalitions took many different names, including the Anti-Nebraska Party, the Fusion Party, the People’s Party, and the Independent Party. The most popular name was the **Republican Party**.

Republicans Organize

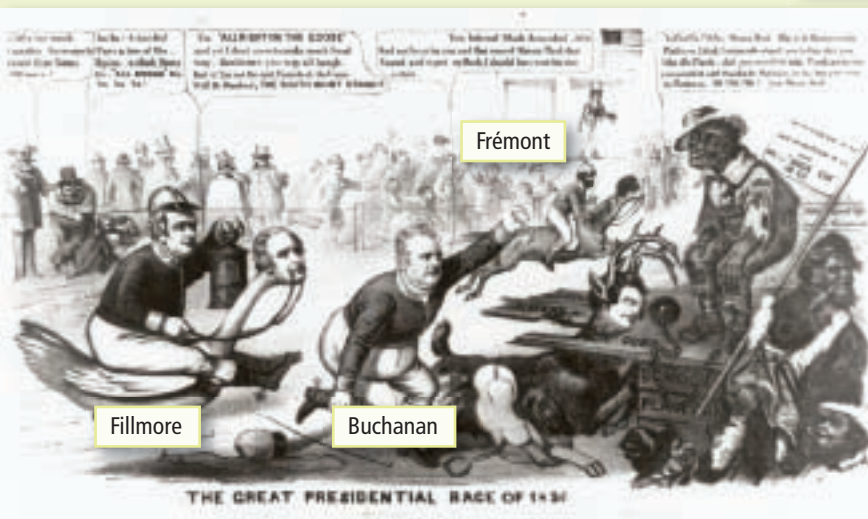
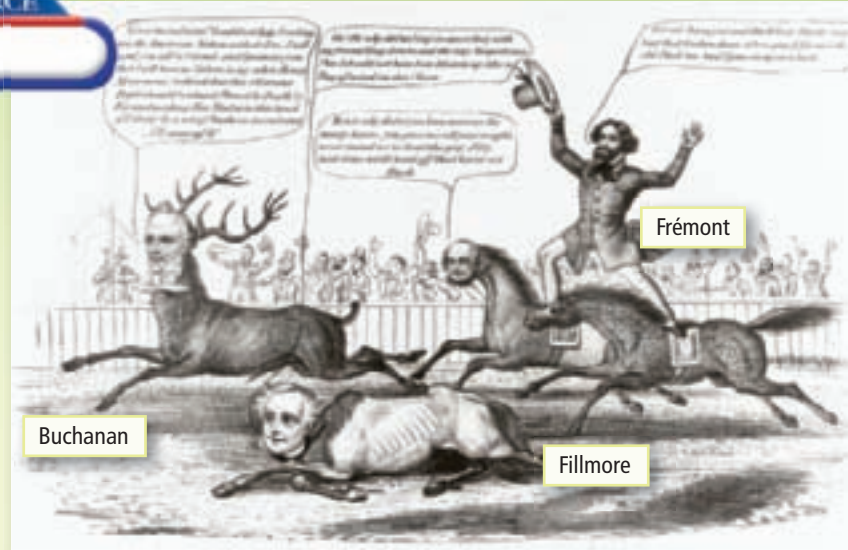
At a convention in Michigan in July 1854, the Republican Party was officially organized. In choosing the same name as Thomas Jefferson’s original party, the Republicans declared their intention to revive the spirit of the American Revolution. Just as Jefferson had chosen the name because he wanted to prevent the United States from becoming a monarchy, the new Republicans chose their name because they feared that the Southern planters were becoming an aristocracy that controlled the federal government.

Republicans did not agree on whether slavery should be abolished in the Southern states, but they did agree that it had to be kept out of the territories. A large majority of Northern voters seemed to agree,

The Politics and Election of 1856

In 1856 three candidates ran for president: James Buchanan for the Democrats, John Frémont for the Republicans, and Millard Fillmore for the American Party. None of them had wide support because of their position for or against abolition. The fractured electorate chose Buchanan.

▼ *Frémont pulls ahead in the presidential race. Buchanan has crashed into the Democratic platform and blames the slavery plank in the platform for scaring his mount and causing the crash. Fillmore rides a goose and holds a Know-Nothing lantern. He warns that if he loses, the Union will be dissolved. Spectators note that the goose has a curved spine—with no back bone.*



▲ *The cartoon above shows Buchanan as a “buck”—a play on his name—winning the presidential race. Fillmore is shown as an underfed horse that has collapsed. Frémont is shown trying to win by riding two horses—a wooly nag labeled “abolitionism” and a horse with Horace Greeley’s face. Greeley was editor of the New York Tribune—a very popular paper that supported antislavery causes.*

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Making Inferences** Why do you think that both cartoons are so critical of Fillmore?
- 2. Identifying Points of View** Which cartoon do you think might have appeared in the North and which in the South? Why?

enabling the Republicans and the other anti-slavery parties to make great strides in the elections of 1854.

The Know-Nothings

At the same time, Northern anger against the Democrats enabled the American Party—also known as the Know-Nothings—to make gains, particularly in the Northeast. The American Party was an anti-Catholic and nativist party. It opposed immigration, especially Catholic immigration. Prejudice, and fear that immigrants would take away jobs, enabled the American Party to win many seats in Congress and state legislatures in 1854.

Soon after the election, the Know-Nothings suffered the same fate as the Whigs. Many Know-Nothings had been elected from the

Upper South, particularly Maryland, Tennessee, and Kentucky. They quickly split with Know-Nothings from the North over their support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Furthermore, the violence in Kansas and the beating of Charles Sumner made slavery a far more important issue to most Americans than immigration. Eventually, the Republican Party absorbed most Northern Know-Nothings.

The Election of 1856

To gain the widest possible support in the 1856 campaign, Republicans nominated John C. Frémont, a famous Western explorer nicknamed “The Pathfinder.” Frémont had spoken in favor of Kansas becoming a free state. He had little political experience but also no embarrassing record to defend.

The Democrats nominated James Buchanan. Buchanan had served in Congress for 20 years and had been the American ambassador to Russia and then to Great Britain. He had been in Great Britain during the debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and had not taken a stand on the issue, but his record in Congress showed that he believed the best way to save the Union was to make concessions to the South.

The American Party tried to reunite its Northern and Southern members at its convention, but most of the Northern delegates walked out when the party refused to call for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The rest of the convention then chose former president Millard Fillmore to represent the American Party, hoping to attract the vote of former Whigs.

The campaign was really two separate contests: Buchanan against Frémont in the North, and Buchanan against Fillmore in the South. Buchanan had solid support in the South and only needed his home state of Pennsylvania and one other state to win the presidency. Democrats campaigned on the idea that only Buchanan could save the Union and that the election of Frémont would cause the South to secede. When the votes were counted, Buchanan had won.

The *Dred Scott* Decision

In his March 1857 inaugural address, James Buchanan suggested that the nation let the Supreme Court decide the question of slavery in the territories. Most people who listened to the address did not know that Buchanan had contacted members of the Supreme Court and therefore knew that a decision was imminent.

Many Southern members of Congress had quietly pressured the Supreme Court justices to issue a ruling on slavery in the territories. They expected the Southern majority on the court to rule in favor of the South. They were not disappointed. Two days after the inauguration, the Court released its opinion in the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

Dred Scott was an enslaved man whose Missouri slaveholder had taken him to live in free territory before returning to Missouri. Assisted by abolitionists, Scott sued to end his slavery, arguing that the time he had spent in free territory meant he was free.

Scott's case went all the way to the Supreme Court. On March 6, 1857, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney delivered the majority opinion in the case. Taney ruled against Scott because, he claimed, African Americans were not citizens and therefore could not sue in the courts. Taney then addressed the Missouri Compromise's ban on slavery in territory north of Missouri's southern border:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"[I]t is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning [enslaved persons] in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void."

—from *Dred Scott v. Sandford*

Instead of removing the issue of slavery in the territories from politics, the *Dred Scott* decision itself became a political issue that further intensified the sectional conflict. The Supreme Court had said that the federal government could not prohibit slavery in the territories. Free soil, one of the basic ideas uniting Republicans, was unconstitutional.

Democrats cheered the decision, but Republicans claimed it was not binding. They argued that it was an *obiter dictum*, an incidental opinion not called for by the circumstances of the case. Southerners, on the other hand, called on Northerners to obey the decision if they wanted the South to remain in the Union.

Many African Americans, among them Philadelphia activist Robert Purvis, publicly declared contempt for any government that could produce such an edict:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Mr. Chairman, look at the facts—here, in a country with a sublimity of impudence that knows no parallel, setting itself up before the world as a free country, a land of liberty!, 'the land of the free, and the home of the brave,' the 'freest country in all the world' . . . and yet here are millions of men and women . . . bought and sold, whipped, manacled, killed all the day long."

—quoted in *Witness for Freedom*

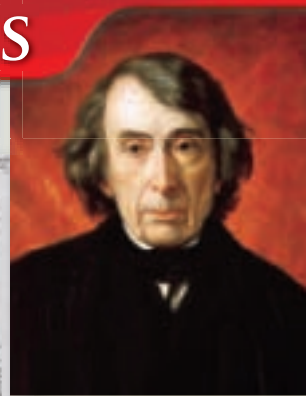


Explaining How did the *Dred Scott* decision contribute to the growing split between North and South?



ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

Can the Government Ban Slavery in Territories?



★ *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 1857

Background to the Case

Between 1833 and 1843, enslaved African American Dred Scott and his wife Harriet had lived in the free state of Illinois and in the part of the Louisiana Territory that was considered free under the Missouri Compromise. When he was returned to Missouri, Scott sued his slaveholder, John Sandford, based on the idea that he was free because he had lived in free areas, and won. That decision was reversed by the Missouri Supreme Court, and Scott's case went to the U.S. Supreme Court.

How the Court Ruled

The 7-2 decision enraged many Northerners, and delighted many in the South. In his lengthy opinion for the Court, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney found that enslaved descendants of enslaved Africans were property, could not be citizens of the United States, or of a state, and that therefore Scott had no rights under the Constitution and no right to sue Sandford. Further, Taney decreed that Congress did not have the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories. This made the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Court's Opinion

"[T]he right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. . . . And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description. . . . Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory."

—Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, writing for the Court in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*



▲ Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (above, right) delivered the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Dred Scott* case. The decision made Scott and his family a topic for the nation's press.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Dissenting Views

"The prohibition of slavery north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and of the State of Missouri . . . was passed by a vote of 134, in the House of Representatives, to 42. Before [President] Monroe signed the act, it was submitted by him to his Cabinet, and they held the restriction of slavery in a Territory to be within the constitutional powers of Congress. It would be singular, if in 1804 Congress had power to prohibit the introduction of slaves in Orleans Territory [the future state of Louisiana] from any other part of the Union, under the penalty of freedom to the slave, if the same power, embodied in the Missouri compromise, could not be exercised in 1820."

—Justice John McLean, dissenting in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*

DBQ

Document-Based Questions

- 1. Finding the Main Idea** What is the main idea of Chief Justice B. Roger Taney's opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*?
- 2. Summarizing** What argument does Justice John McLean offer in favor of Congress's right to prohibit slavery in the territories?
- 3. Expressing** Which argument do you feel is stronger? Explain.

The Emergence of Abraham Lincoln

MAIN Idea Stephen Douglas took positions on Kansas and the *Dred Scott* case that reduced his popularity while Abraham Lincoln gained a reputation within the Republican Party.

HISTORY AND YOU What do you know about Abraham Lincoln? Read on to find out how he rose to national prominence in the 1850s through a series of famous debates.

After losing in 1856, Republicans realized they needed a candidate who could win every Northern state. They also knew that Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois was a rising star in the Democratic Party and a Northerner whom the South might trust with the presidency in order to stop a Republican victory. To win, Republicans needed a candidate who could defeat Douglas in his home state of Illinois. They also needed Douglas to take unpopular positions on the issues under consideration.

By late 1858, both conditions had been fulfilled. Douglas had taken positions on Kansas and the *Dred Scott* case that made him less popular in both the North and the South. At the same time, Republicans had found a candidate from Illinois who might be able to challenge Douglass—a relatively unknown politician named Abraham Lincoln.

Kansas's Constitution

Douglas began to lose popularity in the South because of events in Kansas. Hoping to end the troubles there, President Buchanan urged the territory to apply for statehood. The proslavery legislature scheduled an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, but antislavery Kansans boycotted it, claiming it was rigged. The resulting constitution, drafted in the town of Lecompton in 1857, legalized slavery in the territory.

Each side then held its own **referendum**, or popular vote, on the constitution. Antislavery forces voted down the constitution; proslavery forces approved it. Buchanan accepted the proslavery vote and asked Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. The Senate quickly voted to accept the **Lecompton constitution**, but the House of Representatives blocked it. Many members of Congress became so angry

during the debates that fistfights broke out. Southern leaders were stunned when even Stephen Douglas refused to support them. Many had thought that Douglas was one of the few Northern leaders who understood the South's concerns and would be willing to compromise.

Finally, to get the votes they needed, Southern leaders in Congress agreed to allow Kansas to hold another referendum on the constitution. Southern leaders expected to win this referendum. If settlers in Kansas rejected the Lecompton constitution, they would delay statehood for Kansas for at least two more years. Despite these conditions, the settlers in Kansas voted overwhelmingly in 1858 to reject the Lecompton constitution. They did not want slavery in their state. As a result, Kansas did not become a state until 1861.

Debates IN HISTORY

Can Slavery be Prohibited in the Western Territories?

In the 1850s, much of the political debate over slavery centered on the spread of slavery into the western territories. The *Dred Scott* decision held that the federal government could not ban slavery in the territories. Opponents of slavery then debated whether residents of a territory could ban slavery. This became a central issue in the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858.

Lincoln and Douglas

In 1858 Illinois Republicans chose Abraham Lincoln to run for the Senate against the Democratic incumbent, Stephen A. Douglas. Lincoln launched his campaign in June with a memorable speech, in which he declared:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

—quoted in *The Civil War: An Illustrated History*

The nationally prominent Douglas, a short, stocky man nicknamed "The Little Giant,"

regularly drew large crowds on the campaign trail. Seeking to overcome Douglas's fame, Lincoln proposed a series of debates between the candidates, which would expose him to larger audiences than he could attract on his own. Douglas confidently accepted.

Although not an abolitionist, Lincoln believed slavery to be morally wrong and opposed its spread into western territories. Douglas, by contrast, supported popular sovereignty. During a debate in Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas if the people of a territory could legally exclude slavery before achieving statehood. If Douglas said yes, he would appear to be opposing the *Dred Scott* ruling, which would cost him Southern support. If he said no, it would make it seem as if he had abandoned popular sovereignty, the principle on which he had built his following in the North.

YES

Stephen Douglas

United States Senator

PRIMARY SOURCE

"It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension."

—speech delivered August 27, 1858



NO

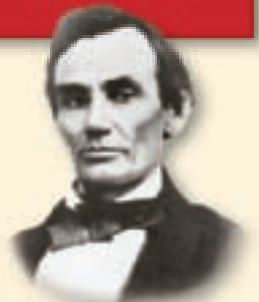
Abraham Lincoln

Former Congressman

PRIMARY SOURCE

"What is Popular Sovereignty? Is it the right of the people to have Slavery or not have it, as they see fit, in the territories? I will state . . . my understanding is that Popular Sovereignty, as now applied to the question of Slavery, does allow the people of a Territory to have Slavery if they want to, but does not allow them not to have it if they do not want it. I do not mean that if this vast concourse of people were in a Territory of the United States, any one of them would be obliged to have a slave if he did not want one; but I do say that, as I understand the *Dred Scott* decision, if any one man wants slaves, all the rest have no way of keeping that one man from holding them."

—speech delivered August 21, 1858



DBQ

Document-Based Questions

- 1. Finding the Main Idea** According to Abraham Lincoln, why could territorial residents *not* ban slavery through popular sovereignty?
- 2. Comparing** Why does Stephen Douglas think popular sovereignty can effectively limit slavery?

- 3. Speculating** After reading both points of view, which author do you think had a more realistic assessment of the effectiveness of popular sovereignty to stop the spread of slavery?

John Brown Becomes a Martyr

Issued in the North in 1863, in the middle of the Civil War, this print depicts John Brown being led to his execution. The symbols in the print show how John Brown had become a martyr to many Northerners.

A figure wearing a tri-cornered hat of the American Revolution with the number 76 emblazoned on it looks on with concern.

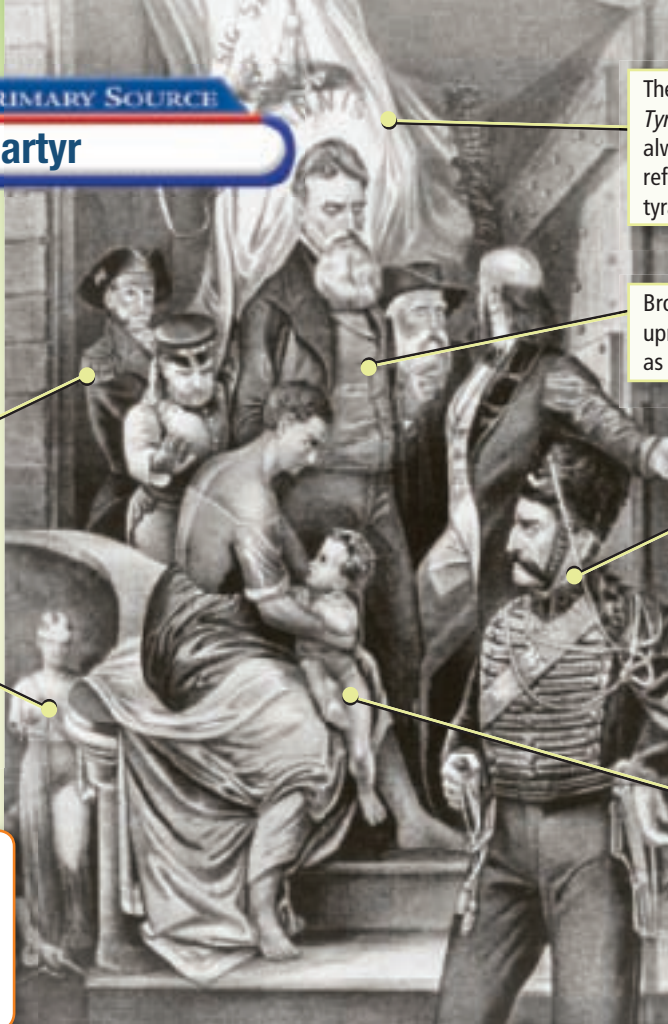
A statue of Justice is shown with her arms and scales broken.

The flag says *Sic Semper Tyrannis*—Latin for “as always with tyrants” and refers to the idea that tyrants must be killed.

Brown is shown standing upright, unhurt, and uncowed as he is led to his death.

Brown’s jailers look malevolent, with angry snarls and hands on weapons.

According to tradition, Brown kissed an enslaved child as he was led to the scaffold. This enslaved child and its mother are portrayed in a way that would remind viewers of paintings of Jesus and his mother Mary.



Analyzing VISUALS

- Identifying Central Issues** How is John Brown portrayed in this image?
- Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think that the statue of Justice is depicted as broken?

Douglas tried to avoid the dilemma, **formulating** an answer that became known as the **Freeport Doctrine**. He replied that he accepted the *Dred Scott* ruling, but he argued that people could still keep slavery out by refusing to pass the laws needed to regulate and enforce it. “Slavery cannot exist . . . anywhere,” argued Douglas, “unless it is supported by local police regulations.” Douglas’s response pleased Illinois voters but angered Southerners.

Lincoln also attacked Douglas’s claim that he “cared not” whether Kansans voted for or against slavery. Denouncing “the modern Democratic idea that slavery is as good as freedom,” Lincoln called on voters to elect Republicans, “whose hearts are in the work, who do care for the result”:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“Has any thing ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity save and

except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen [sore] or cancer upon your person and not be able to cut it out lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong.”

—quoted in *The Civil War: Opposing Viewpoints*

Douglas won the election, but Lincoln did not come away empty-handed. He had used the debates to make clear the principles of the Republican Party. He had also established a national reputation for himself as a man of clear, insightful thinking who could argue with force and eloquence. Within a year, however, national attention shifted to another figure, a man who opposed slavery not with well-crafted phrases, but with a gun.

Reading Check **Examining** What were the positions of Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln on slavery?

John Brown's Raid

MAIN Idea Abolitionist John Brown planned to free and arm enslaved African Americans to stage a rebellion against slaveholders.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you recall a previous time in American history when citizens revolted against what they believed was an unfair government? Read on to learn about John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry.

John Brown was a fervent abolitionist who believed, as one minister who knew him in Kansas said, "that God had raised him up on purpose to break the jaws of the wicked." In 1859 he developed a plan to seize the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (today in West Virginia), free and arm the enslaved people in the area, and begin an **insurrection**, or rebellion, against slaveholders.

On the night of October 16, 1859, Brown and 18 followers seized the arsenal. To the terrified night watchman, he announced, "I have possession now of the United States armory, and if the citizens interfere with me I must only burn the town and have blood."

Soon, however, Brown was facing a contingent of U.S. Marines, rushed to Harpers Ferry from Washington, D.C., under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. Just 36 hours after it had begun, Brown's attempt to start a slave insurrection ended with his capture. A Virginia court tried and convicted him and sentenced him to death. In his last words to the court, Brown, repenting nothing, declared:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of [God's] despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood . . . with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done!"

—from *John Brown, 1800–1859*

On December 2, the day of his execution, Brown handed one of his jailers a prophetic note: "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with Blood. I had as I now think vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

Many Northerners viewed Brown as a martyr in a noble cause. The execution, Henry David Thoreau predicted, would strengthen abolitionist feeling in the North. "He is not old Brown any longer," Thoreau declared, "he is an angel of light."

For most Southerners, however, Brown's raid offered all the proof they needed that Northerners were actively plotting the murder of slaveholders. "Defend yourselves!" cried Georgia Senator Robert Toombs. "The enemy is at your door!"

Reading Check **Evaluating** In what ways might a Northerner and a Southerner view John Brown's action differently?

Section 2 REVIEW

Vocabulary

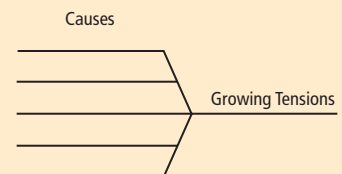
1. **Explain** the significance of: Republican Party, Dred Scott, referendum, Lecompton constitution, Freeport Doctrine, John Brown, insurrection.

Main Ideas

2. **Listing** What were the two rulings in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that increased sectional divisiveness?
3. **Explaining** What was the ultimate fate of the Lecompton constitution?
4. **Synthesizing** How did Americans react to John Brown's raid?

Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** What were the main goals of the Republican and American parties?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list causes of the growing tensions between the North and South.



7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the image of John Brown's martyrdom on page 300. What do you think is the significance of the figure in the tri-cornered hat?

Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** Suppose that you have just read the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Dred Scott* case. Write a letter to the editor explaining your reaction to the decision.



Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 3

The Union Dissolves

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Struggles for Rights After Lincoln's election to the presidency, many Southerners placed state loyalty above loyalty to the Union.

Content Vocabulary

- martial law (p. 307)

Academic Vocabulary

- commitment (p. 306)
- impose (p. 307)

People and Events to Identify

- John C. Breckinridge (p. 303)
- John Bell (p. 303)
- Fort Sumter (p. 304)
- Crittenden's Compromise (p. 305)
- Confederacy (p. 305)
- Jefferson Davis (p. 305)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes Use the major headings of this section to outline the events that led to the U.S. Civil War.

The Union Dissolves
I. The Election of 1860
A.
B.
C.
D.
II.

In the end, all attempts at compromise between the North and South over slavery failed to end the sectional differences. Finally, the outcome of the 1860 election triggered a showdown and the first shots of the long, bloody Civil War.

The Election of 1860

MAIN Idea The election of Abraham Lincoln led the Southern states to secede from the Union.

HISTORY AND YOU Is it always important to give someone a chance to keep a promise? Lincoln had promised not to free slaves in the Southern states. Read on to learn how South Carolina decided to secede anyway.

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry was a turning point for the South. The possibility of a slave uprising had long haunted many Southerners, but they were frightened and angered by the idea that Northerners would deliberately try to arm enslaved people and encourage them to rebel.

Although the Republican leaders quickly denounced Brown's raid, many Southerners blamed Republicans. To them, the key point was that both the Republicans and John Brown opposed slavery. As one Atlanta newspaper noted: "We regard every man who does not boldly declare that he believes African slavery to be a social, moral, and political blessing as an enemy to the institutions of the South."

In the Senate, Robert Toombs of Georgia warned that the South would "never permit this Federal government to pass into the traitorous hands of the Black Republican party." In April 1860, with the South in an uproar, Democrats headed to Charleston, South Carolina, to choose their nominee for president.

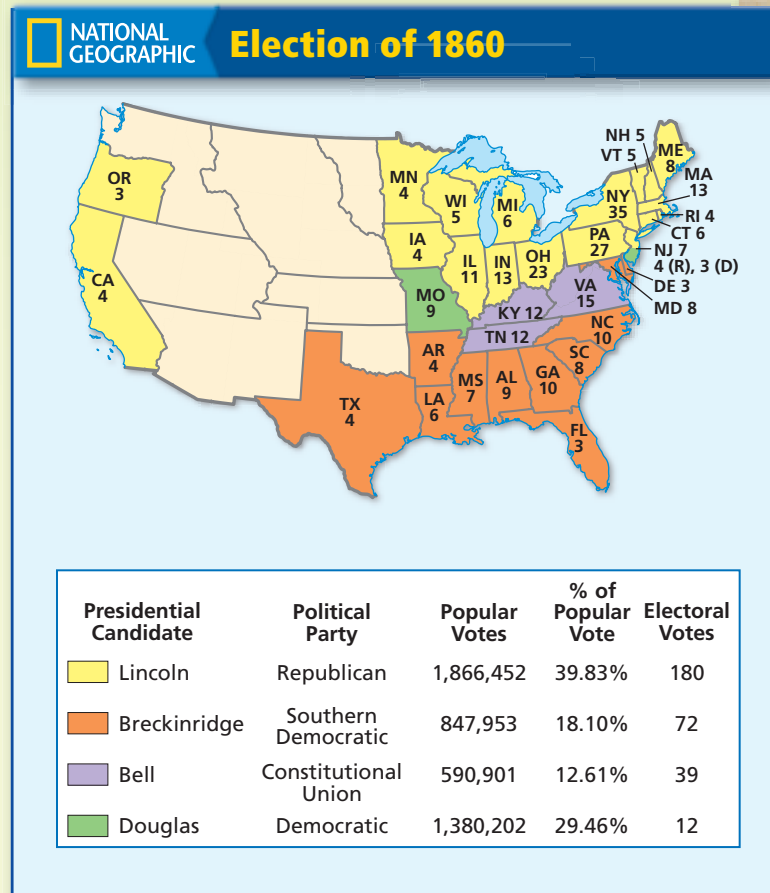
The Democrats Split

In 1860 the debate over slavery in the western territories finally tore the Democratic Party apart. Their first presidential nominating convention ended in dispute. Northern delegates wanted to support popular sovereignty, while Southern delegates wanted the party to uphold the *Dred Scott* decision and endorse a federal slave code for the territories. Stephen Douglas was not able to get the votes needed to be nominated for president, but neither was anyone else.

In June 1860 the Democrats met again, this time in Baltimore, to select their candidate. Douglas's supporters in the South had organized rival delegations to ensure Douglas's endorsement. The original Southern delegations objected to these rival delegates and again

The Election of 1860

After the slavery issue split the Democratic Party, the election of 1860 evolved into a four-way race. In the cartoon, the artist implies that Lincoln won because he had the best bat, which is labeled "equal rights and free territories," while the other candidates were for compromise or the extension of slavery.



Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- Interpreting** How does the map show that Lincoln was a sectional candidate?
- Identifying Points of View** Do you think that the artist was sympathetic to abolition or not? Explain.

walked out. The remaining Democrats then chose Douglas to run for president.

The Southern Democrats who had walked out organized their own convention and nominated the current vice president, **John C. Breckinridge** of Kentucky, for president. Breckinridge supported the *Dred Scott* decision and agreed to endorse the idea of a federal slave code for the western territories.

The split in the Democratic Party greatly improved Republican prospects, which was what some of the more radical Southern dele-

gates had intended all along. They hoped that a Republican victory would be the final straw that would convince the Southern states to secede.

Other people, including many former Whigs, were greatly alarmed at the danger to the Union. They created another new party, the Constitutional Union Party, and chose former Tennessee senator **John Bell** as their candidate. The Constitutional Unionists campaigned on a position of upholding both the Constitution and the Union.

Lincoln Is Elected

With no chance of winning electoral votes in the South, the Republican candidate had to sweep the North. The most prominent Republican at the time was Senator William Seward from New York. Delegates at the Republican convention in Chicago did not think Seward had a wide enough appeal. Instead they nominated Abraham Lincoln, whose debates with Douglas had made him very popular in the North.

During the campaign, the Republicans tried to persuade voters they were more than just an antislavery party. They denounced John Brown's raid and reaffirmed the right of the Southern states to preserve slavery within their borders. They also supported higher tariffs, a new homestead law for western settlers, and a transcontinental railroad.

The Republican proposals greatly angered many Southerners. However, with Democratic votes split between Douglas and Breckinridge, Lincoln won the election without Southern support. For the South, the election of a Republican president represented the victory

of the abolitionists. The survival of Southern society and culture seemed to be at stake. For many, there was now no choice but to secede.

Secession Begins

The dissolution of the Union began with South Carolina, where anti-Northern, secessionist sentiment had long been intense. Shortly after Lincoln's election, the state legislature called for a convention. The convention unanimously voted for the Ordinance of Secession. By February 1, 1861, six more states in the Lower South—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had voted to secede. Many Southerners believed secession was in the tradition of the American Revolution and that they were fighting for their rights.

As the states of the Lower South seceded one after another, Congress tried to find a compromise to save the Union. Ignoring Congress's efforts, the secessionists seized all federal property in their states, including arsenals and forts. Only the island strongholds of **Fort Sumter** in Charleston Harbor and Fort

Steps to Civil War, 1846–1860



▲ David Wilmot

1846

Wilmot Proviso proposing to ban slavery in Mexican cession enrages Southerners

1848

Free-Soil Party is founded by Northern antislavery Whigs, Democrats, and members of the Liberty Party

1850

Compromise of 1850 allows California to enter Union as a free state, giving free states a Senate majority, but the new Fugitive Slave law enrages Northerners



1846

1847

Vice President George Dallas proposes popular sovereignty; Democrat Lewis Cass popularizes the idea, angering Northern antislavery Democrats

1848

1849

California Gold Rush brings flood of settlers; California applies for statehood



1850

1852

1852

Uncle Tom's Cabin is published

Pickens in Pensacola Harbor, as well as a few other islands off the coast of Florida, remained out of Southern hands.


Although horrified at the seizure of federal property by the secessionists, many members of Congress were still willing to compromise to avoid civil war. To that end, Kentucky senator John J. Crittenden proposed several amendments to the Constitution. One would guarantee slavery where it already existed. Another would also reinstate the Missouri Compromise line, extending it to the California border. Slavery would be prohibited north of the line and protected south of it. Lincoln, however, asked congressional Republicans to stand firm, and **Crittenden's Compromise** did not pass.

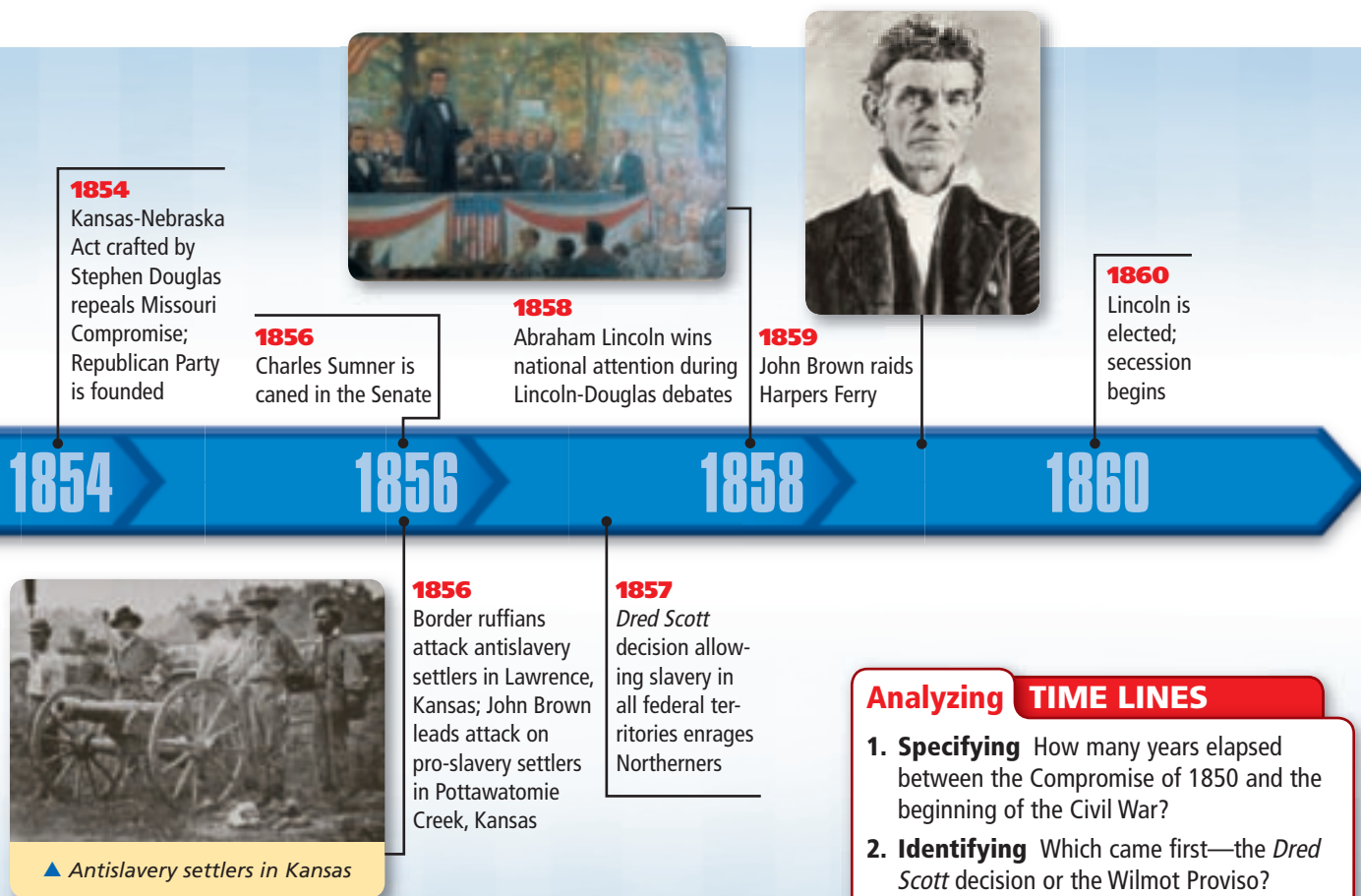
Virginia—a slave state but still in the Union—then proposed a peace conference. Delegates from 21 states attended the conference in Washington, D.C. The majority came from Northern and border states. None came from the secessionist states. The delegates met for three weeks, but came up with little more than a modified version of Crittenden's Compromise. When presented to Congress, the plan went down in defeat.

Founding the Confederacy

On the same day the peace conference met, delegates from the seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama. There, in early February, they declared themselves to be a new nation—the Confederate States of America—or the **Confederacy**, as it became known. The convention then drafted a constitution based largely on the U.S. Constitution but with some important changes. It declared that each state was independent and guaranteed the existence of slavery in Confederate territory. It did ban the import of slaves from other countries. It also banned protective tariffs and limited the presidency to a single six-year term.

The delegates to the convention chose **Jefferson Davis**, a former senator from Mississippi, as president of the Confederate States of America. In his inaugural address, Davis declared, "The time for compromise has now passed. The South is determined to . . . make all who oppose her smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel."

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** What main event triggered the secession of Southern states?



The timeline is a horizontal blue arrow pointing right, with years 1854, 1856, 1858, and 1860 marked. Above the arrow, there are two images: a painting of a man speaking at a podium (1858) and a portrait of a man (1859). Below the arrow, there are two images: a group of people on horseback (1856) and a document (1857). Each image is connected to a text box describing an event.

1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act crafted by Stephen Douglas repeals Missouri Compromise; Republican Party is founded

1856 Charles Sumner is canded in the Senate

1856 Border ruffians attack antislavery settlers in Lawrence, Kansas; John Brown leads attack on pro-slavery settlers in Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas

1857 *Dred Scott* decision allowing slavery in all federal territories enrages Northerners

1858 Abraham Lincoln wins national attention during Lincoln-Douglas debates

1859 John Brown raids Harpers Ferry

1860 Lincoln is elected; secession begins

Antislavery settlers in Kansas

Analyzing TIME LINES

- 1. Specifying** How many years elapsed between the Compromise of 1850 and the beginning of the Civil War?
- 2. Identifying** Which came first—the *Dred Scott* decision or the Wilmot Proviso?

The Civil War Begins

MAIN Idea The plan to resupply Fort Sumter triggered the beginning of the Civil War.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think it is ever appropriate for the government to declare martial law? Why or why not? Read to learn how Lincoln used martial law to keep Maryland from seceding.

In his inaugural address on March 4, 1861, Lincoln spoke directly to the seceding states. He repeated his **commitment** not to interfere with slavery where it existed but insisted that “the Union of these States is perpetual.” Lincoln did not threaten the seceded states, but he said he intended to “hold, occupy, and possess” federal property in those states. Lincoln also encouraged reconciliation:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without yourselves being the aggres-

sors. . . . We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.”

—from Lincoln’s first Inaugural Address

Fort Sumter Falls

In April Lincoln announced that he would resupply Fort Sumter. Confederate President Jefferson Davis now faced a dilemma. Leaving federal troops in the South’s most vital harbor was unacceptable if the Confederacy was to be an independent nation. Firing on the supply ship, however, would undoubtedly lead to war with the United States.

Davis decided to capture Fort Sumter before the supply ship arrived. If he was successful, peace might be preserved. Confederate leaders sent a note to Major Robert Anderson, the fort’s commander, demanding Fort Sumter’s surrender by the morning of April 12, 1861.

Anderson stood fast. The fateful hour came and went, and cannon fire suddenly shook the

Turning Point

The Fall of Fort Sumter

When the Confederacy took Fort Sumter, it fired the first shots of the American Civil War. The Civil War was the most serious test of the strength of the Union up to that point, or since. The North, led by President Lincoln, was determined to preserve the United States as a whole, while the South, led by Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee, was determined to start a new nation of its own to preserve the institution of slavery.

ANALYZING HISTORY Why was the shelling of Fort Sumter a turning point in American history?



◀ The attack on Fort Sumter sparked the Civil War.

air. Confederate forces bombarded Fort Sumter for 33 hours, wrecking the fort but killing no one, until Anderson and his exhausted men finally surrendered. The Civil War had begun.

The Upper South Secedes

After the fall of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to serve in the military for 90 days. The call for troops created a crisis in the Upper South. Many people there did not want to secede, but faced with the prospect of civil war, they believed they had no choice but to leave the Union. Virginia acted first, passing an Ordinance of Secession on April 17, 1861. The Confederate Congress responded by moving the capital of the Confederacy to Richmond, Virginia. By early June of 1861, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee had also seceded.

Hanging On to the Border States


With the upper South gone, Lincoln was determined to keep the slaveholding border states from seceding. Delaware seemed safe, but Lincoln worried about Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland. Virginia's secession had placed a Confederate state across the Potomac River from the nation's capital. If Maryland seceded, Washington would be surrounded by Confederate territory.

To prevent Maryland's secession, Lincoln **imposed martial law** in Baltimore, where mobs had already attacked federal troops. Under martial law, the military takes control of an area, replaces civilian authorities, and suspends many civil rights. Secessionists could be arrested and held without trial. Union Army officers imprisoned dozens of suspected secessionist leaders.

Lincoln knew that Kentucky was divided over whether to secede and that its control of the Ohio River's south bank was strategically important. When Kentucky declared itself neutral, Lincoln promised to leave the state alone so long as the Confederacy did the same.

Kentucky stayed neutral until September 1861, when Confederate forces occupied part of the state, prompting Union troops to move in as well. The Confederate invasion angered many in the Kentucky legislature, which now voted to fight the Confederacy. This led other Kentuckians who supported the Confederacy to create a rival government and secede.

The third border state Lincoln worried about was Missouri. Although many people in the state sympathized strongly with the Confederacy, its convention voted almost unanimously against secession. A struggle then broke out between the convention and pro-secession forces led by Governor Claiborne F. Jackson. In the end, Missouri stayed with the Union with the support of federal forces. From the very beginning of the Civil War, Lincoln had been willing to take political, even constitutional, risks to preserve the Union. The issue of its preservation now shifted to the battlefield.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** Why were the border states of Maryland and Kentucky important to the Union?

Section 3 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: John C. Breckinridge, John Bell, Fort Sumter, Crittenden's Compromise, Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, martial law.

Main Ideas

2. **Explaining** How did problems in the Democratic Party help Abraham Lincoln win the 1860 election?
3. **Identifying** Where and under what circumstances did the American Civil War begin?

Critical Thinking

4. **Big Ideas** How did Lincoln prevent Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland from seceding? Was Lincoln justified in his actions? Why or why not?
5. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the various parties' candidates and political positions in the 1860 election.

Party	Candidate	Position
Northern Democrat		
Southern Democrat		
Constitutional Unionist		
Republican		

6. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the map on the election of 1860 on page 303. Explain why Douglas won only one state.

Writing About History

7. **Persuasive Writing** Suppose you are an adviser to President Lincoln and have just heard about the firing on Fort Sumter. Write a brief report for the president, advising him on what steps to take next.



Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Chapter 8 VISUAL SUMMARY



You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flashcards to your PDA from glencoe.com.

Causes of Sectional Tensions

- Disagreement continues over the legality, morality, and politics of slavery.
- Congressman David Wilmot proposes the Wilmot Proviso to ban slavery in territory acquired from Mexico.
- The concept of popular sovereignty—that local settlers can decide whether their state will be a free state or slave state—is popularized.
- The California Gold Rush leads to Californians applying for statehood as a free state, creating the possibility of more free states than slave states in the Senate.
- The Compromise of 1850 leads to the Fugitive Slave Law.
- Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852.
- The Kansas-Nebraska Act repeals the Missouri Compromise.
- *Dred Scott* case results in the Supreme Court declaring the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.
- John Brown launches a raid on Harpers Ferry, hoping to incite a slave rebellion.
- Lincoln wins the presidency in 1860.



▲ The *Dred Scott* decision and the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* fueled the bitter sectional struggle over slavery.



◀ When Northern settlers organized to stop slavery from spreading into Kansas (left) their efforts were met with a violent response by Southerners. Ultimately, the struggle over slavery led to Civil War, when the Confederacy fired on Fort Sumter (below)

Effects of Sectional Tensions

- The Free-Soil Party, seeking to stop the spread of slavery into western territories, is formed.
- The Republican Party is formed by antislavery Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, and members of the abolitionist Liberty Party.
- Some Northerners actively resist the Fugitive Slave Law and help escaped slaves; the Underground Railroad moves runaway slaves from the South to freedom in Canada.
- Violence erupts between proslavery and antislavery settlers in Kansas.
- John Brown and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* polarized the North and South.
- Missouri Compromise is found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.
- John Brown's raid convinces many Southerners that secession is necessary to keep the South safe.
- Lincoln's election is the final straw. Several Southern states secede from the Union and form the Confederacy.
- Confederates attack Fort Sumter in South Carolina and take it.
- Lincoln calls for troops to put down the rebellion; the Civil War begins.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

TEST-TAKING TIP

When a question contains a negative, try to reword the sentence or phrase to make it positive.

Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

- To spare Congress from further arguments over slavery, Senator Lewis Cass proposed the idea of _____, which would allow each territory to decide if it wanted to allow slavery or not.
A martial law
B popular sovereignty
C abolition
D insurrection
- In Kansas, antislavery supporters voted in a _____ against the Lecompton constitution.
A committee
B convention
C proviso
D referendum
- To keep Maryland in the Union, Abraham Lincoln declared _____ in Baltimore.
A martial law
B abolition
C secession
D popular sovereignty
- John Brown was executed for his attack on Harpers Ferry and a plan to lead a slave _____ against slaveholders.
A demonstration
B referendum
C insurrection
D revolution

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 284–293)

- The Wilmot Proviso declared that there would be no
A more slavery in the United States.
B slavery in the lands won from Mexico.
C further territorial acquisitions.
D new states added to the Union.
- Which of the following was an effect of the Fugitive Slave Law?
A Southerners had no more problems with escaped enslaved people.
B Enslaved people could now leave slavery whenever they wished.
C California was brought into the Union as a free state.
D Northerners who had been neutral about slavery were now outraged.
- Which of the following was not an element of the Compromise of 1850?
A The Fugitive Slave Act was passed.
B California was admitted as a state.
C The slave trade was ended in Washington, D.C.
D Slavery was permitted in Texas.

Section 2 (pp. 294–301)

- In the *Dred Scott* decision, the Supreme Court determined that it was unconstitutional to
A allow slavery in the territories.
B prohibit slavery in the territories.
C free slaves in the United States.
D bring enslaved people from one state to another.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Go to Page . . .	285	298	307	301	284	288	288	296

GO ON 

Chapter 8

9. Which of the following best describes the party called the Know-Nothings?

- A proslavery and antigovernment
- B antislavery and pro-immigration
- C pro-Catholic and pro-immigration
- D anti-immigration and anti-Catholic

10. Anger over the Kansas-Nebraska Act brought about the formation of which party?

- A the American Party
- B the Republican Party
- C the Cotton Whig Party
- D the Free-Soil Party

Section 3 (pp. 302–307)

11. The South saw the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 as a

- A political victory for proslavery supporters.
- B chance to take over Congress.
- C victory for the abolitionists.
- D good opportunity to end years of sectionalism.

12. The Civil War began when

- A Lincoln refused to send troops into Kentucky.
- B Fort Sumter fell to the Confederacy.
- C Virginia seceded from the Union.
- D army officers imprisoned many suspected secessionists.

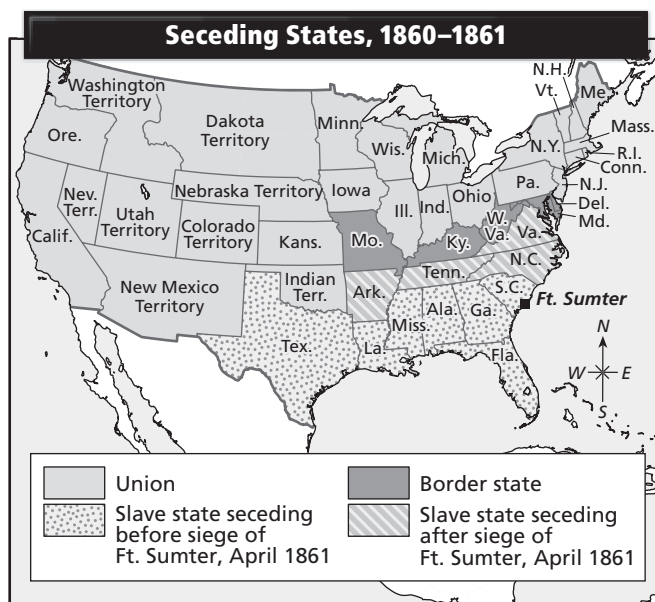
13. Lincoln's actions in Missouri at the start of the Civil War signaled his

- A desperate desire to end slavery.
- B deep disappointment at Claiborne F. Jackson.
- C willingness to take risks to save the Union.
- D desire to accommodate the South.

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Base your answers to questions 14 and 15 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 8.



14. Which slave state remained in the Union after the Fort Sumter attack?

- A Arkansas
- B Virginia
- C Missouri
- D Texas

15. Which states did not secede until after the Fort Sumter attack?

- A North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia
- B Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky
- C Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina
- D Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Go to Page . . .	295	294	304	306	307	307	307

GO ON

16. "A house divided against itself cannot stand. . . I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. . ."

—Abraham Lincoln, 1858

The "divided house" referred to in this speech was caused primarily by

- A expansionism.
- B war with Mexico.
- C slavery.
- D the suffrage movement.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 8.



17. What do you think this cartoon is satirizing?

- A the Wilmot Proviso
- B the presidential election of 1856
- C the presidential election of 1860
- D the formation of the Republican Party

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

Edward A. Pollard of Virginia was the editor of the *Daily Richmond Examiner* during the Civil War. He wrote a book, *The Lost Cause*, about the Civil War from the Southern point of view. In this excerpt from the book, Pollard gives his view of the causes of the Civil War:

"In the ante-revolutionary period, the differences between the populations of the Northern and Southern colonies had already been strongly developed. The early colonists did not bear with them from the mother-country to the shores of the New World any greater degree of congeniality than existed among them at home. They had come not only from different stocks of population, but from different feuds in religion and politics. There could be no congeniality between . . . New England, and the South. . ."

—from *The Lost Cause*

- 18. According to Pollard, when did differences between the North and South begin?
- 19. What did he believe caused the differences between the people of the North and the South?

Extended Response

20. John Brown's goal in seizing the arsenal at Harpers Ferry was to begin a rebellion against slaveholders. Write a persuasive essay expressing your opinion that either John Brown should have or should not have been executed for his action. In your essay, include an introduction and at least three paragraphs with details from the chapter to support your opinion.

STOP

History  **ONLINE**

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 8 at glencoe.com.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	16	17	18	19	20
Go to Page . . .	302	302	311	311	301